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TRADE ROUTES ----------

NAVAL BASES

● Primary

◉ Secondary

RAW MATERIALS

① Aluminum (Bauxite)	⑤ Iron	⑨ Petroleum
② Chromite	⑥ Manganese	⑩ Rubber
③ Coal	⑦ Mica	⑪ Tin
④ Copper	⑧ Nickel	⑫ Tungsten

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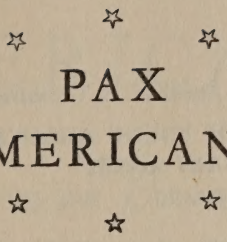

PAX AMERICANA

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PAX AMERICANA

American Democracy and World Peace

BY

JAMES H. R. CROMWELL

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CHICAGO, 1941

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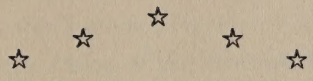


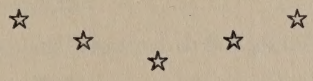
THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"the only great democratic Chief of State who comprehended the inherent menace of Hitlerism from the beginning."

WITH THE ADMIRATION AND DEVOTION OF

JAMES H. R. CROMWELL



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INTRODUCTION

IN A TIME OF GREAT CONFUSION, when the American people must make a decision that will determine the future, not only of their own way of life but of world civilization, clear and resolute speech is imperative. It must also be simple speech, capable of being understood by the people of this country to whom it is addressed. Further, it must be speech spoken calmly and without ill temper or any spirit of fear and hate. Yet it must be speech that meets the desperate urgency for action that the times demand.

Because this book, "Pax Americana" fulfills these requirements, I believe Mr. Cromwell has rendered a valuable and lasting service to his country. He has defined the issues clearly and tersely and has set forth the only real alternatives. That is exactly what is needed to enable the American people to decide.

It is my view, as well as Mr. Cromwell's, that the people of the United States already know, instinctively, that "this war has become *our* war." The polls, when the question is put in any such form as naval aid to Britain if Britain is in danger of being defeated, show this. We might, of course, put off the evil day when America must face Hitler. We might let Britain be defeated and accept the contemptuous peace terms recently offered to the United States by the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, following his return from Berlin and Rome.* But if we did so, "government of, for, and by the people" would almost surely perish from this earth. If Hitler and defeatism did not undermine us from within, we should have to resort to the sternest repression to face attacks from all sides.

History shows that only such democracies as refused to look hard facts in the face and were afraid of joining the issue, have followed the fatal road trod by France. From the days of the Athenian sailors at Salamis, there is no shred of evidence to show that a democracy, which has resolutely and successfully defended its spiritual values and way of life, has not been strengthened by the effort. It was this effort of Athens that made possible the golden age of Pericles.

No one can look back on our times, particularly since the First World

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* See page 68

War, and fail to perceive how terrible were our shortcomings. But those who go on from a proper humility on this account to say that we can never correct our mistakes and therefore must lie down and be rolled over by "the wave of the future," betray the whole American heritage of freedom. It is only on the high ground of our spiritual values that we can take our stand and turn back the wave of totalitarianism which, in all truth, has arisen from man's inadequately buried past—not his future.

The American people expect to be told by their elected leaders why the destruction of the British Empire would imperil their own freedom and safety and when, how and by what means such a catastrophe can be prevented. We have shrunk from the word *war,* but we can not escape the fact. We ask our leaders to lead, and boldly. "Pax Americana" not only describes the dangers we must face and explains how and why Hitlerism threatens our Christian-democratic civilization but, of far greater importance in this time of crisis and confusion, it points the way to a new World of Democracy, worthy of our blood, sweat and tears.

Just and honorable peace terms are suggested for a Germany cleansed of Naziism, as part of this new World of Democracy; a new order which the leadership and full weight of America alone can make possible. The idea that a nation, which Mr. Cromwell shows is as powerful today as is the United States, could stand idly by and allow Hitler to create a world order that would be the very antithesis of everything we cherish would be a falsification of all American tradition and history. We should be faced by a hostile world for an indefinite future—a combination far more powerful than any we could create.

As our forefathers fought because this nation could not exist "half slave and half free," we are painfully beginning to see that we must fight because our world of today cannot exist "half slave and half free." The best and the most simple peace aims for America are to be found in the words of Lincoln, the great and humble symbol of the free spirit of man: "to bind up the nation's wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT
Professor of Government, Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

May 20th, 1941.

Pax Americana

The Parable of the Good Samaritan

¶ *And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?*

¶ *He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?*

¶ *And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.*

¶ *And He said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.*

¶ *But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, and Who is my neighbour?*

¶ *And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.*

¶ *And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.*

¶ *And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.*

¶ *But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him he had compassion on him.*

¶ *And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.*

¶ *And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.*

¶ *Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?*

¶ *And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.*

I

WHY ISOLATION IS IMPOSSIBLE TODAY

The Issues at Stake

FOR MANY MONTHS WE HAVE been witnessing an assault upon our Christian-democratic civilization which, should it succeed, will abruptly end this age of freedom and progress and return the world to another Dark Age of anarchy and barbarism such as that earlier "Scourge of God", Hitler's predecessor, Attila the Hun, visited upon medieval Europe. But this modern Attila, if he prevails, will inflict upon our enlightened world of today a far darker period of retrogression than mankind heretofore ever experienced or envisioned.

Hitler has for eight years directed the genius of German science and administration to the development of new and diabolical war machines designed to lay waste whole cities and countrysides. Machines employed not only to kill and mutilate the soldiers of opposing armies, but also helpless old men, women and children, who, fleeing from his armored Panzer monsters and Stuka bombers, are

mercilessly butchered as they cower in woods and ditches dying from hunger and exhaustion. Today thousands of homeless refugees are hiding like wild animals in caves and cellars where the decencies of civilized living must, of necessity, soon disappear.

We know all these things are true and that these conditions exist for they have been related and printed and depicted so often—and never denied—that we Americans, living comfortably and complacently in our peaceful homes, have come to take them as a matter of course. Thus, in spite of what they hear, read and see, it is a tragic fact that too many Americans have gained no conception of the magnitude of this assault upon civilization or of its inevitable and disastrous impact upon their own country. Too many of our people are suffering from the delusion that this is just another war of power politics between rival European imperialisms, and too many believe we can slam the door of our isolated cyclone cellar and emerge unscathed when the storm is over.

But a rude and terrible awakening confronts America for we must make an immediate decision; we must decide *now* whether we will take the offensive in this war—win it—and thereafter assume the responsibilities of world leadership, or remain on the defensive and face the ultimate disintegration of our American way of life. We are, fortunately, blessed with a farsighted and courageous leader in the person of the President of the United States, but while his record proves he lacks neither boldness nor initiative, yet he knows, as does every student of democracy, that it would be a serious error to lead this nation

into war unless such action met with the wholehearted approval of a great majority of our citizens.

The American people, therefore, must be shown; they must be given all the facts and figures available in order that they may form an intelligent opinion concerning the fateful decision they are called upon to make. And even when the decision is made, as it soon will be, even then we must continue to shout the truth from the housetops, until every one of us has a clear understanding of the issues at stake, and the confusion bred of conflicting authority and Nazi-Communist propaganda is set at rest.

In this, the gravest crisis that has ever faced our nation, there is no time for personalities and name calling and no room for demagogic appeals to emotion. There is only time and room for cold hard facts and for such hypotheses as may conservatively be formulated from undisputed evidence. I have endeavored, herein, to adhere strictly to such facts and hypotheses.

Some Available Facts and Figures

We are going to learn, popular notions to the contrary notwithstanding, that America is by no means self-sufficient and that our foreign trade, even though it represented only about nine per cent of our national income in 1940, is of vital importance. For without exports we cannot get imports and without certain kinds of imports our industrial system might be unable to operate.

We are going to examine the doctrines and principles of the kind of a world Hitler intends we shall live in, and

we will envision the position of America isolated in such a world. Then we will examine the doctrines and principles of another kind of world, the World of Democracy, and show how the English Speaking Nations, by working together, might maintain world peace and thus provide the time and circumstance essential to the achievement of security and a more abundant life for all the people.

In order, however, to obtain a proper perspective of the relationship of these various factors, to understand, for instance, the causes of war and to know what conditions are precedent to any effort to solve the fundamental problem of unemployment, we must briefly turn back the pages of history, analyze the social, political and economic development of the Machine Age and, thus, by profiting from the errors of the past, avoid the pitfalls of the future.

The invention of the steam engine, about the middle of the 18th century, marked the birth of the Machine Age and engendered that period of vast and painful readjustment we call the Industrial Revolution. It was indeed an epochal period; for in its span occurred the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy and before it had run its course the specter of scarcity, which had haunted mankind throughout the ages, had been vanquished.

Today, as we all know, the ancient problem of inadequate production has been solved and mankind, after 10,000 years of recorded history, is suddenly being drowned in a sea of abundance. Now our problem has become one of distribution and although we have suf-

fered, and are still suffering agonies in the effort to find the solution, we should not be disheartened because we have failed, in the third decade of the 20th century, to provide the earthly paradise for which humanity has yearned since the beginning of time.

The political and economic development of the Machine Age may, for the sake of clarity, be separated into three different periods that are as follows: The initial or Primitive Period, which began about 1750 and ended with the Napoleonic Wars; the expansion or Imperial Period, which began at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and ended with the First World War; and last, the present or Transition Period, which began at the end of the First World War and will last nobody knows how long.

The Primitive Period of the Machine Age

The development of the brief Primitive Period was marked by the intense suffering of the masses that occurred during the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The unavoidable difficulties of this transition, moreover, were greatly exaggerated by the incredible and inhuman exploitation of labor by capital. In the beginning, the natural functioning of pure capitalism was unrestrained, but the abuses and requirements of utter laissez-faire soon demanded government regulation, a factor which has increased steadily ever since. The effort of Mother countries to exploit their colonies solely for their own benefit, was another outstanding feature of this period, which, from a material point of view, is to be

noted chiefly for its shameless greed and short-sighted selfishness.

The major events that occurred during the Primitive Period, however, were the revolts of the masses against autocracy in the French and American revolutions; their emergence from feudalism and virtual slavery and the assertion of the rights to self-government, freedom, justice, equal rights and the dignity of the individual.

The Imperial Period of the Machine Age

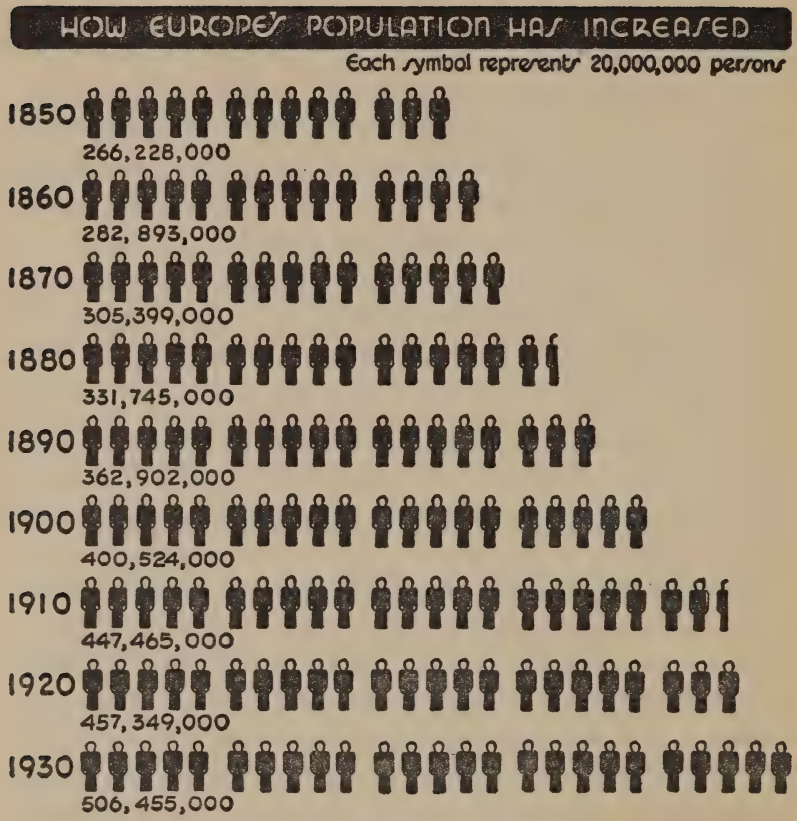
The expansion or Imperial Period of the Machine Age was as noteworthy for material gains as was the Primitive Period for political and social gains. This was Britain's century, for Britain, amply blessed with the sinews of the Machine Age, coal and iron; ideally situated at the crossroads of world trade; protected by the English Channel from military invasion, and assured of command of the seas by her victories over the Spanish, Dutch and French, secured a tremendous headstart over the other nations.

Within a few decades amazing improvements in the methods of production had been effected and, due partly to the exploitation of labor by capital, the production of goods surpassed the ability of home markets to consume them. Business men looked abroad, not only for new markets but also for new varieties and sources of raw materials with which to maintain the swiftly rising tempo of industrial production. And so these economic demands, combined with such psychological factors as national prestige and pride, bringing the blessings of Christianity

to the backward heathen etc., engendered an enormous growth and development of the British, French and Dutch Empires and a later expansion by Germany, Italy and Japan.

Look at the charts on the opposite page which tell the story, more impressively than can words, of the amazing increase of Europe's population and industrial production within less than a century. But, sad to say, there was a simultaneous and almost comparable increase in rivalry, in cut-throat competition, in jealousy, suspicion and hatred, and in those lethal instruments which men use to butcher one another when their hatreds and rivalries break the bounds of reason. So we find that expanding production of goods and higher standards of living were accompanied, step by step, by an expanding production of war materials and of higher taxes for huge armies, navies and naval bases.

Toward the twilight of the Imperial Period rivalry grew more and more intense as it became increasingly difficult to find new jobs for Europe's rapidly increasing population by the accustomed method of exploiting new markets and new sources of raw materials. As the 19th century neared its close the chosen places of the earth had already been staked out and additional profitable markets and sources were no longer available. But the real tragedy, and the true source of trouble, was that while our fathers had brilliantly solved the problem of production they had failed to solve the problem of distribution. Had they been able to do so, and thereby found an unlimited new market for their plethora of produc-



Charts from the Foreign Policy Association Booklet "In Quest of Empire."

THE WORLD PRODUCES MORE AND MORE GOODS

Each symbol represents 10 per cent of the volume of world industrial production in 1913

tivity by increasing the consuming power of the masses at home, there would have been no rivalry, no hatreds and no war.

What Caused the First World War

However, as production and population continued to expand and no commensurate outlet for the increasing flow of goods could be found, rivalry, hatred, cut-throat competition, jealousy, suspicion, and armaments grew apace. Following the Franco-Prussian War, Germany experienced a remarkable period of development under Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II, and soon a united and efficient German nation was challenging both the commercial and naval supremacy of Britain. Perhaps the genesis and inevitability of the First World War is most concisely explained by one sentence published in 1897 by a great London newspaper: "A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen". By 1914 the building was completed and the Imperial Period, which marked the most amazing growth of population, production and progress in all history, vanished in the flames of the First World War.

The general world peace and international social order that Britain, by her command of the seas, had maintained for a hundred years was gone and gone forever. Under the Pax Britannica the world had thrived and prospered as never before, but after the First War the reins of leadership fell into the unaccustomed hands of America, Britain's young and powerful offspring; not because Britain

had grown weak but because too many nations had grown strong.

As the result of acting as the major supply depot for the Allies throughout the First War, America emerged, not only with a productive capacity far in excess of that of any other country, but also as the world's greatest creditor nation. In short, the world's balance of power and leadership shifted, after 1918, from Britain to America; from the old world to the new.

Why America Entered the First World War

Why did America enter the first war and then, having encompassed the defeat of Germany, refuse to grasp the proffered opportunity of world leadership and ignominiously retreat into a funk hole of isolation? For what possible reason, in other words, did America spill her blood and treasure "to make the world safe for democracy" and then, having blasted clear the pathway to that objective at enormous sacrifice, fail to finish the job?

The answer is paradoxical. When the war in Europe was over we began to fight a psychological war at home, a war between our inherent desire for isolation on the one hand, and hard fact on the other. Almost every American, I believe, is fundamentally and by tradition an isolationist, including myself. What, indeed, could be more natural? After all, the overwhelming majority of our ancestors came to this country to escape the ancient hatreds, tyrannies and recurrent wars of Europe; and it was this inherent urge to avoid becoming involved in Euro-

pean quarrels that kept us out of the First War for three years.

On the other hand, was hard fact. The hard fact that by the end of the First War the requirements of interdependence i.e., the exchange of materials essential to the functioning of modern industry, had rendered the maintenance of international social order imperative. And America, having become the world's most powerful nation, and having the privilege of enjoying the lion's share of the world's business, was obliged to assume her proportionate responsibility toward seeing to it that international social order *was* maintained. But there is one way to avoid looking hard facts in the face—for awhile—and that is to look the other way. Which is what we did, and today we are learning, by bitter and costly experience, that such escapes from responsibility are only temporary and do not pay.

Now what did the slogan we used to explain our participation in the first war *really* mean, i.e., "to make the world safe for democracy"? Some young people today seem to be laboring under the misapprehension that my generation shouldered arms to fight for an objective which did not mean anything. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The fundamental reason we entered the First War was to maintain the freedom of the seas. Ostensibly we fought, "to make the world safe for democracy", but what we meant by democratic safety was the freedom to transact international trade and to transport across the seas those goods and materials without which our industrial system

could not have functioned. As the world's greatest democracy we resented and mistrusted the autocratic German government of 1917, just as we resent and mistrust the far more ruthless and despotic German government of today. So we entered the First World War for exactly the same reason we have been drawn into the Second World War; because we are not willing that command of the seas shall fall into German hands.

Why America Refused to Join the League of Nations

By 1918 the wanton slaughter of millions of the flower of the world's youth and the immense destruction of property and standards of living had proved the utter futility of gaining anything by war, and people everywhere were determined to find permanent peace. Thus, when President Wilson announced his famous 14 Point Armistice and the League of Nations ideal, he was hailed universally as the new Prophet destined to lead mankind forever out of the wilderness of war.

Unfortunately, however, the war had not changed human nature and while the Allied peoples wanted permanent peace they likewise wanted revenge, reparations and loot. The Allied leaders, furthermore, not only were all of the old power politics school, but were also plagued by secret treaties, and of course they felt obligated to "bring home the bacon" to their constituents. The American people, on the other hand, and their leader, President Wilson, insisted upon a generous peace based upon the creation of a new world order and the cooperation of all nations, victor and vanquished alike.

The offspring of this attempted union of greed and idealism naturally was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. What finally came out of Versailles was a hasty pudding of mixed and unsavory content thinly coated with Wilson's idealistic conception of the League of Nations. What the President had gotten was far from what he had wanted to get, but he hoped to persuade the American people to accept the compromise on the basis that the League would ultimately rectify the animosities and errors of Versailles. But the American people would have none of it. They decided in the election of 1920 that Europe was hopeless; that we had better stay at home, mind our own business and let Europe stew in the juice she herself had concocted. Thus America, following the selfish example of the Pharisee and the Levite; "passed by on the other side", and the war to end war ended in the peace to end peace.

The Beginning of the Transition Period of the Machine Age

The Transition Period of the Machine Age, which began about 1920, was similar to the Imperial Period in that the world steadily shrunk in size as transportation and communication improved, and at the same time continued to grow ever more interdependent as the demands of industry for new and variegated raw materials increased. The Transition Period, however, differed sharply from its predecessor in that neither America nor the nations of Europe could any longer cushion the effects of economic convulsions by developing new markets and raw material

sources beyond their domains. Said General Tasker Bliss, one of the ablest American delegates to Versailles, speaking in 1920 of the years ahead, "we are in for a low period, then a high period, then the devil will be to pay all over the world". Never has a more accurate prophecy been made.

First came the low period, ushered in by the short lived depression of 1920. Next came the high period from 1922 to 1928, when America temporarily circumvented the economic laws that apply to creditor nations by lending billions abroad. Then in 1929 came the Great Depression, and surely nobody will deny that the devil has been to pay all over the world ever since.

The Chief Reasons Why the League of Nations Failed

The astronomical reparations payments of 33 billion dollars assessed against Germany, not only were a constant source of irritation and financial dislocation — until abruptly denounced by Hitler—but will stand out forever as the greatest example of economic illiteracy in all history. That the League of Nations was able to function at all, hamstrung by the Reparations Clause and the withdrawal of America, is incontrovertible evidence of the crying need for international cooperation in a world growing steadily more interdependent.

Any unprejudiced analysis of the failure of the League, and of collective security, must arrive at the conclusion that the non-cooperation of America scuttled the League and rendered it incapable from the outset of accomplish-

ing the purpose for which it was designed. France, bled white of manpower and faced by her much larger and more powerful traditional enemy, Germany, naturally demanded that the sanctity of her frontier be assured before she would disarm. France wanted an Anglo-American guarantee.

But America, her head embedded firmly in the soothing sands of self interest, failed to see why she should be concerned and refused to have any part of it. Since Britain and France together had not been able to defeat Germany without the full aid of America, and since America refused to promise any aid in the event of future German aggression, we cannot escape the conclusion that our policy of isolation killed the basic collective security ideal of the League before it could be born.

So France, quite naturally, refused to disarm, and being deprived of any better way to assure her own safety, reverted to her pre-war policy of military alliances encircling Germany. Between 1920 and 1925 she signed mutual assistance pacts with Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Britain — facing a policy of complete isolation and utter indifference to the maintenance of international social order on the part of America, into whose unwilling hands the reins of world leadership had been thrust—was compelled to revert to her former policy of playing the balance of power game; sometimes supporting France and her Allies, and sometimes helping Germany.

Some Other Transgressions of the Pharisees

In addition to their various other transgressions our Pharisees and Levites, the isolationists, adopted an attitude, born of ignorance and provincialism, of supercilious contempt toward the efforts of the European nations to solve their own and the world's problems without our cooperation. Indeed, during the two decades following the First War it was customary for most Americans to view with critical detachment the struggles of a troubled world from the Ivory Tower of our magnificent isolation. And it is an unfortunate fact, furthermore, that the isolationist habit of considering Americans to be above the petty disputes of our fellow men has become so ingrained that even the terrific crash of our Ivory Tower on May 10th, 1940, has not sufficed to awaken many of our people to the appalling menace to our safety.

In reviewing, herewith, the major events that occurred from 1920 until today, which consist largely of the sins and omissions of our sister democracies, let us be sure to bear in mind the old maxim that people who live in conspicuous glass houses should be doubly careful not to throw stones. For America, which conceived and then abandoned the League, played an ignoble part in deriding the bewildered nations who were seeking to assume *her* responsibility for the maintenance of international social order.

During General Bliss' so-called high period, from 1922 to 1929, business boomed and with almost full employment and world prosperity, the wounds of the war and of the Ruhr occupation rapidly healed. People of all nationalities seemed contented and kindly disposed, and a series of treaties—like Locarno and the Kellogg-Briand Pact—filled with beautiful but empty promises never again to resort to war, sprouted like mushrooms in the spring.

But the boom did not last long, for depression and unemployment, the nemesis of the Transition Period, fell like an avalanche upon an optimistic and wholly unprepared world. There is no purpose in attempting to explain why or how the catastrophe of 1929 was precipitated; nearly every economist has his own explanation and if all could agree the great and fundamental problem of our times would be solved. But everybody knows what the effects were; General Bliss described them in a nutshell, "the devil to pay all over the world".

In the year 1930, when the men of all nations were desperately seeking to dam the spreading flood of depression, our isolationists descended from their Ivory Tower long enough to deal the world a blow which not only destroyed any hope of recovery but inaugurated a period of reprisals and economic warfare that utterly wrecked international trade and finance. This was the Smoot-Hawley Act which raised our tariffs on some one hundred articles to far the highest rates in American history. For

a creditor and a "have" nation to render it impossible both for her debtors to pay her and for "have not" nations to buy from her, is without doubt the height of insanity. After the Reparations Clause, the Smoot-Hawley Act will forever stand out as the second greatest example of economic illiteracy in all history. Yet so dense was the ignorance in isolationist America that we were amazed and indignant when our debtors were compelled to default!

From that time on things went from bad to worse. By 1931 the strain on national money systems reached the breaking point and the failure of the great Austrian Creditanstalt was followed by the collapse of the entire German banking system. Similar disasters occurred one after another and the consequent contraction of trade and commerce everywhere engendered a corresponding expansion of bankruptcies, foreclosures, unemployment and discontent. The soil was being prepared, in other words, for the coming of the autocrats and the world was not kept waiting long.

In 1931 Japanese exports had dropped by 50 per cent, their silk market had crashed and the military oligarchy of Japan seized the opportunity offered to distract the people's attention by the barefaced invasion of Manchuria. Treaties, contracts and pledges—as we have all learned during the past decade—are mere means to an end so far as autocracies are concerned; so Japan thought nothing of disregarding her signature to the Nine Power Pact. China appealed to the League of Nations for help and the League wanted us to join the other nations in imposing sanctions against Japan, but isolationist America could not

be bothered with other people's troubles and we therefore refused. After all, explained our Pharisees, business was bad, Japan was one of our best customers and why and how did it concern us if a couple of Asiatic nations wanted to fight?

The maintenance of international social order, it is plain to see, had become nobody's concern, so the stage was set and the curtain was raised on a continuous showing of the greatest spectacle of international murder, arson and robbery the world had ever seen.

The Chronology of Disaster

Germany was next. By 1932 the unemployed in Germany numbered six million, and Bruening, the Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, had to be relieved of the impossible punitive measures inflicted by Versailles if his regime was to survive the gangster attacks of the rapidly growing Nazi and Communist organizations. But the Allies, as usual, could not agree. France still wanted her frontiers guaranteed and America still refused, more emphatically than ever, to have any part of it. So Bruening again returned empty handed to Berlin and within a few months was out of office. Hitler was on the way in and European democracy was on the way out.

Mussolini occupied the center of the stage for the ensuing scenes of murder, arson and robbery, which took place in Ethiopia in 1935. Then, in 1936, Hitler took advantage of Allied dissension over Italy's unprovoked assault upon Ethiopia and got away with the invasion of the Rhineland.

Next came the cold-blooded experiments in modern warfare conducted by Russia, Germany and Italy in Spain where Communist, Nazi and Fascist "volunteers" intervened in the ruinous battles between the Spanish classes. In 1937 Japan, profiting by Italy's Ethiopian adventure, concluded that the democracies were impotent and that the time was ripe to smash the progressive Chinese government before it grew too strong. In 1938 Hitler marched into Austria, and the Sudeten seizure and the debacle of Munich soon followed. Finally, in August 1939, came Germany's non-aggression pact with Russia and on September 1st Hitler's invasion of Poland brought on the Second World War.

Mr. Roosevelt Reads the Handwriting on the Wall

In reviewing and analyzing this tragic chronology of democratic dissolution and disaster, one fact stands out clearly; that President Roosevelt was the only great democratic chief of state who comprehended the inherent menace of Hitlerism from the beginning. The President seems to have realized that the revival of German militarism would, in the long run, again resolve itself into a struggle for the command of the seas; from the time of his inauguration, therefore, he constantly importuned an isolationist and unwilling Congress to appropriate increasingly large sums for armaments—especially for the navy.

But as the ominous clouds of war gathered over Europe, America became more isolationist than ever and the enactment of the Neutrality Act in 1937 was designed to serve

notice upon the European nations that we lived so completely in a world apart that we had no interest whatever in the disputes of other nations, irrespective of who might be right or wrong. Needless to say the Neutrality Act was welcome news indeed to Hitler. President Roosevelt, however, knew that America could not be floated off into space and separated from the rest of the world by any wishful decree of Congress, and he knew that we were certain to be profoundly affected by a general European war. From the outset, it was his desire and policy to employ the enormous prestige and economic power of America to prevent war from ever breaking out anywhere. He realized, in short, that the only *positive* way to keep America out of war was to be certain no war occurred.

Thus it was that in the same year the Neutrality Act was passed, 1937, the President sought to persuade the American people, in his famous "quarantine" speech in Chicago, that the best method of assuring the safety of America was to adopt a policy of participation for prevention. He urged that America should join with the other democracies and seek to "quarantine" aggressors, but the American people were still strongly isolationist; they still had no conception of how the disruption of the international social order could and would immediately and disastrously alter their daily lives. So after the isolationists had roundly denounced the President as a "warmonger", America again settled back into her normal condition of complacent and blissful ignorance.

Perhaps America's incredible Ivory Tower attitude toward world events was best exemplified by the storm of

criticism which was levelled at the Allies as the result of Munich and the Czecho-Slovakian "betrayal". British prestige in America sank to a new low and many were the biting comments concerning Britain's somnolence and her military and psychological unpreparedness. The sticks and stones from our great glass house were flying thick and fast!

President Roosevelt, clearly foresaw the impending conflict and early in 1939 endeavored to persuade the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to repeal the Neutrality Act and thus permit him to use the threat of America's productive potential to maintain peace. But the request was almost unanimously refused by the astigmatic Committee members who were not only profoundly isolationist but did not believe for a moment there was a real possibility of war in Europe. Anyhow, they felt Europe's war was Europe's funeral.

When the war broke out some six months later the Neutrality Act was amended, upon the insistence of the President, to allow the sale of munitions to the Allies, but strictly on a cash and carry basis. The American people realized, fortunately, that the original Act nullified Britain's command of the seas. Besides, we could not help but sympathize with our sister democracies despite the fact that they were forever stupidly getting themselves involved in conflicts and wars.

America was, of course, horrified and indignant over Hitler's swift and brutal conquest of Poland but then, Poland had not hesitated to gobble up a share of Czecho-Slovakia when that unfortunate country had been dissected the previous year. So, as the war developed into the dreary stalemate on the Maginot and Siegfried Lines, many Americans contemptuously referred to it as "phoney"; we thanked our stars for the Atlantic Ocean, for our wisdom in that we had "passed by on the other side" and were immune from European greed, treachery, wars and entanglements. America had sunk deeper than ever into the swamp of isolation and cynicism.

Those who dared suggest that America had any interest in the outcome of Europe's war, other than academic sympathy with our sister democracies, were promptly accused of treason and "warmongering". The isolationists doubtless believed such suggestions were insidiously designed to undermine the "firm" foundations of our Ivory Tower and to them the *truth* scarcely fell short of being seditious. Thus the American people were efficiently insulated against any possible infiltration of actual fact and as a result Congress, in February, 1940, cut our naval appropriations by 500 million dollars, from $1,300,000,000 to $800,000,000. However, only a few months later these same representatives of the people rushed through an initial armaments Bill with the full approval of their constituents, calling for the expenditure of five billion dollars.

After this Bill was passed, Congress and the nation once

again settled back again into their accustomed state of blissful ignorance and complacency, despite the fact that the menance to our safety was not abated one whit by enactment of the new legislation. For the real truth is that had Britain, like France, surrendered, had Hitler got the British fleet and thus obtained command of the seas, America was doomed. To prove that this is no overstatement let me quote from the report of Senate Naval Affairs Committee issued May 15, 1940:

> "From all the evidence available it appears that the United States can be defeated and conquered without the military conquest of the continental United States. Without a navy capable of controlling the sea areas against an enemy, an effective blockade against our foreign commerce can be established and maintained at points thousands of miles from our coasts and well beyond aircraft range. Our outlying possessions will be captured and used against us as advance bases. There will be nothing to prevent the establishment of bases, by force if necessary, in this hemisphere, from which, as well as from aircraft carriers, repeated bombing raids can be dispatched against our highly industrialized areas. With the loss of our outlying possessions, and our foreign commerce, and subject to continued raids upon our coastal areas, our ultimate defeat is inevitable. It will be only a question of time, depending on how long our national will to further resist will hold out. Without the power to carry the fight to the enemy, there can be no alternative other than subjugation to his wishes."

This is one of the most accurate and truthful reports ever issued by Congress and the Naval Appropriations Bill which followed it was passed by the Senate in July without one dissenting vote. Yet one-third of these same Senators, knowing our new fleet could not possibly be ready before 1946, and having appropriated funds for a two ocean navy because of the threat to the British fleet, voted against aid to Britain on the grounds that such a policy might involve

us in Europe's war! In analyzing this demagogic behavior on the part of the elected representatives of the people, it is easy to avoid the fundamental issue by charging off such incidents to poor leadership as was done in the case of France and Britain. But such an explanation begs the question,for a democracy can only be as good as its leaders and vice versa. Democratic leaders are elected to carry out the will of the majority of voters and if they did not so do democracy would cease to exist.

This issue is not only fundamental but is of vital importance for the apparent inability of democracies to cope with aggressive military autocracies is attested by the tombstones of every democracy in Europe which sought to resist aggression, except Britain. Since the beginning of this war the chances that "government of, for and by the people shall not perish from this earth" never have been and are not now, in my opinion, better than even. Today, only the lunatic fringe will deny that democracy is facing the gravest danger since its inception; it behooves us, therefore, to inquire why this is so and to arrive at some kind of a conclusion.

Would More Able Leadership Have Saved the Democracies?

Would more able leadership have saved the democracies from the present terrible menace to their existence? Assuming that the French leaders were weak, the British leaders fair and the American leaders good, how much difference was there in the general attitude and psychol-

ogy of the three peoples? In France the people were lulled into a feeling of false security by their belief in the impregnability of the Maginot Line and their confidence that the French army was the best in Europe. Distracted by economic problems and political and class warfare, the significance and danger to their safety of the growing German superiority in the air was not realized by the French people until it was too late to catch up. In Britain the people also believed in the impregnability of the Maginot Line and the superiority of the French army and, in addition, they had their traditional confidence in the protection assured them by the English Channel and the British fleet. Add to these four factors of safety in the minds of the British people, 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean and the indifference of the American public to the so-called menace of Hitlerism was inescapable.

Thus we find there was little difference in the psychology of the three great democracies despite the very considerable difference in the relative ability of their leadership. It was impossible for the democratic peoples to perceive what was going on in Germany, and even if they had perceived it would they have been willing to match the enormous war expenditures of the Nazis? Would they have increased their armament budget from 381 millions to nearly 5 billions in five years as the Nazis did? The action of Congress in cutting naval appropriations almost by half in March 1940, is the answer to that question.

Men like Churchill in Britain, DeGaulle in France and Roosevelt in America tried to warn their peoples of the rising menace beyond the horizon, but anything beyond

the horizon is naturally hard for the average citizen to visualize. Men of such courage and vision, furthermore, are always in the minority and as bearers of ill tidings are seldom popular. The soothsaying majority shout them down with specious words of comfort and cheer and, when there exists an utter conflict of authoritative opinion, what are the people to believe and how can public opinion be formed in time? Given the truth *and* the time, the mass mind seldom errs which is something that cannot be said of psychopathic autocrats. The power of autocrats to reach immediate decisions, while temporarily enormously effective, has heretofore always proved fatal in the long run.

The democratic peoples love peace and hate war, and as victors or beneficiaries of Versailles, it was almost impossible for them to comprehend the spirit of revenge and the desire to eradicate the shame of defeat by victorious conquest that motivated the proud German nation. They could not understand how any civilized people could for long subject themselves to a tyranny as barbarous, oppressive and economically insane as that of the Nazis. To them Naziism was an excrescence of depression and unemployment which would disappear with recovery and prosperity.

Practical men like Baldwin and Chamberlain, trained in business and accustomed to making mutually profitable and beneficial deals, naturally failed to understand a psychopathic mentality like Hitler's, bent only on conquest and destruction. The influential and conservative middle class in the three great democracies, moreover, were deceived, as were numerous Germans, by Hitler's propaganda that the Nazis were the bulwark of Western civilization

against communism. Many of these conservatives openly approved of Hitler's rearmament program, hoping he would attack Russia and that the two poisonous isms would thus destroy one another.

The arguments of a thousand Churchills could never have changed the placid pacifism of the British people as did the shock of Munich and Prague; nor could a thousand Roosevelts have persuaded the American people that their vital interests were at stake in the European war, until the blitzkrieg shattered Europe. Democracy's problem is not solely one of leadership; a long time is required to change the minds of individual citizens and only violent shocks can change the psychology of great nations.

The Objectives Required to Safeguard Democracy

Those facts are the gaping chinks in democracy's armor. Hitler, deliberately plotting to destroy democracy, naturally did not provide the time necessary for public opinion to change; thus when the shock came it was so violent and the democracies were so unprepared that all have been overwhelmed, one by one, except embattled Britain who still fights on. As for America, the shock, while violent, was so distant that our psychology of indifference has only now begun to change—perhaps too late. The words of Patrick Henry, "united we stand, divided we fall" have been forgotten and with the smaller nations we have procrastinated while our fellow democrats and natural allies have been crushed beneath the heel of the conqueror.

Like quail hiding in the grass one democracy after an-

other has listened in fascinated horror to the approaching footsteps of the hunter. And one by one, each has been kicked up and shot down, while the few remaining, including America, the biggest and fattest quail of all, vainly hope that they alone will somehow miraculously be spared the fate of their predecessors.

In analyzing the behaviorism of democracies we must arrive at the conclusion that under normal conditions democratic processes are too slow and unwieldy to cope with the machinations of aggressive military autocracies. We know, however, that the autocracies of the Transition Period have sprung from depressions and the consequent disorganization of our capitalist-democratic social order. If, therefore, we win this war, we must bend every effort toward achieving permanent full employment, higher standards of living and greater equality of wealth and opportunity, to the end that no more Hitlers can sprout like poisonous toadstools from the soil of discontent, to menace our American way of life.

Since these objectives, if achieved, would completely cure the cancer with which our Machine Age is afflicted, and since we cannot achieve them in a world periodically wracked by devastating wars, America must henceforth make certain that there shall be peace in this world, not only in our time and our children's time, but for all time.

Four Major Facts

What facts can we select from the story of the political and economic development of the Machine Age, that are most pertinent to the problems which confront us today? In my opinion, the four major facts are as follows:

First, that despite the unmistakable trend towards more nationalism since the end of the First World War, the interdependence of all nations has steadily increased. The reason for this increasing interdependence is to be found in the growing need of industry for more and diverse raw materials, the sources of which are scattered all over the world. In addition to this fundamental factor is the constantly improving speed and efficiency of communication and transportation, to say nothing of the stream of new inventions which are forever expanding the frontiers of science. It is reasonable to assume, furthermore, that the tendency of all these elements will be to increase rather than to decrease in the future.

Second, that even a nation like America—so fortunately endowed with an ideal geographical location, with unequalled resources and with the greatest single accumulation of wealth and industrial power on earth—cannot isolate itself from the effects of prosperity, depression, revolution or war in other sections of the world. For twenty years we tried to ignore this unpleasant fact but, as always, unpleasant facts eventually must be faced and the longer the delay the greater the cost. If the maintenance of international social order is nobody's business international anarchy is inevitable; the first bill for our

twenty year case of indifference and isolation is 42 billion dollars and that represents a mere beginning.

Third, that the first collective attempt to cope with the problems of interdependence through the League of Nations was a constructive effort and failed because of specific and correctible flaws in the League organization. Outstanding among these flaws were: (1) the non-cooperation of America; (2) the lack of a single agency equipped with the power necessary to enforce the decisions of the League; (3) the inability to cope with the fundamental economic problem of nationalism; and (4) the inertia due to the inadequate authority of the nations' representatives who were, at one and the same time, called upon to pass judgment on too many matters concerning which their countries had little or no interest.

Fourth, that we cannot solve the problem of unemployment and security if world peace and the exchange of materials indispensable to our modern industrial system are to be periodically threatened by aggressive military autocracies and interrupted by war. World peace and social order must be maintained if democracy is to survive and a more abundant life achieved for mankind.

Manganese and Milk

A homely but striking example of the smooth operation of our social order is the bottle of milk which is regularly delivered at our doorstep every morning. We all know, of course, that if we were unable to obtain milk and food our social order would break down with attendant riots

and revolution. Although difficult to grasp, because our economic organization is so vast and complicated, it is nevertheless a fact that what is true of milk and food is likewise true with respect to a number of metals and materials of which many of us have never even heard.

Take manganese, for instance, an ore which is essential to the manufacture of steel and a lack of which very nearly forced our steel industry to shut down during the last war. We have practically no ferro-grade manganese ore deposits in this country large enough to be mined without prohibitive cost, and we therefore import our requirements from the following regions, named in order of importance: Russia, India, Africa and Brazil. In addition to manganese our War department has listed under the heading of "Strategic Materials" such other indispensable things as are normally *not produced at all* in America. These indispensables are: antimony, chromium, cocoanut charcoal, manila fiber, mercury, mica, nickel, quartz crystal, quinine, rubber, silk, tin and tungsten. Under the heading of "Critical Materials" are listed such indispensable things as *we produce only in limited quantities.* These are: aluminum, asbestos, cork, graphite, hides, codine, kapok, magnesium, opium, optical glass, phenol, platinum, toluol, tanning stuffs, vanadium and wool. Because of the enormously increased demands engendered by the armament program, such materials as cobalt, beryl, cleminite and cryolite must be added to the list and, in addition, we are experiencing a shortage of metals like copper, zinc, lead, brass, etc., of which under normal conditions we have an abundance.

Now let me again repeat for emphasis that these materials, which come from every part of the globe, are as vital to the life of our economic organization as are milk and food to the life of the individual citizen. And mind you, America is incomparably better supplied with the multitude of materials essential to the functioning of modern industry, than any other nation in the world. A nation like Italy, in contrast, not only lacks the so-called "strategic" and "critical" materials, but also lacks fundamental resources like steel, oil and coal, as well as many foodstuffs and a great variety of goods such for instance, as cotton. The necessity faced by all nations, in varying degrees, of obtaining from one another hundreds of different kinds of goods, materials and foodstuffs is what is meant by world interdependence. The relative self-sufficiency in essential industrial raw materials of the seven great nations is graphically illustrated by the chart in the back of this book.

We seldom think about the complex and disciplined social order which must function uninterruptedly and with precision if milk is to be delivered every morning at our door. But nearly all of the materials above mentioned must be used to insure delivery of that bottle of milk. First is the tin bucket, then the glass bottle, and the cardboard cap, then the delivery truck, which itself is composed of materials from all over the world. And then there is our financial organization, our banks, our credit and communication systems and last, but most important, the vast entity we call government which maintains law and order in the person of the humble village policeman.

The point I am seeking to make clear is that world interdependence, brought about by the development of the Machine Age, requires the same kind of complex and disciplined social order to deliver manganese to a steel factory as is required to deliver milk to your home. One kind of social order is local and the other international but both are equally essential and a breakdown of either one means ultimate disaster to our American system as it is constituted today.

World Interdependence and Command of the Seas

Now Germany, Italy and Japan contend that so far as they are concerned the international social order which delivers manganese to their factories operates to their great disadvantage. They "have not" the possession of essential materials; the three great democracies "have" nearly all of them, they complain. The democracies got them by conquest, say the autocracies, so what is wrong in getting their share by the same method? Hitler seldom delivers a speech without a peroration about the "haves" and the "have nots", about the vast possessions of Britain and France and the need of overcrowded Germany for *lebensraum* and her share of the spoils. Some of our more ingenuous apologists for the Nazis, furthermore, seem to believe a very good case can be built up for the "have not" nations deserving more shares in the possessions of the world. It is doubly important, therefore, that we know what the facts are. How much truth is there, then, in these claims of Hitler and his Axis partners?

There is not a word of truth. In the first place, only about three per cent of the world's trade is conducted with colonial possessions. In the second place, from a book-keeping point of view, colonies do not pay. The former German possessions in Africa, for instance, were a constant drain on the national treasury. In the third place, as to the need for *lebensraum,* the fact is that while 19 million people emigrated from Europe between 1885 and 1935, only 500,000 settled in overseas territories controlled by European nations. So the fact is that only 500,000 people out of a total European population of some 400 millions, or about one-eighth of one per cent, could be cajoled, bribed or compelled to prove the "crying need" for *lebensraum!* And the same holds true for Japan. Of her 70 million people less than 200,000 have settled permanently in Korea and Manchuria.

Next, is it true that the existing international social order operates to the great disadvantage of the "have not" autocracies? That question must be answered by a brief explanation of international trade. How do "have not" nations like Switzerland, Denmark and Greece obtain essential materials from the "have" nations? Simply by exchanging their goods and services for the materials of the "have" nations.

We must realize, however, that when "have" nations like ourselves, prevent the "have nots" from selling us their goods and services by adopting measures such as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, we prevent them from getting dollars to buy essential materials from us and thus disrupt the international social order almost as effectively as if we

instituted a naval blockade. On the other hand, it is obviously the duty and right of every nation to protect its domestic economic security first. The achievement of an equitable balance between national and international commercial interests, therefore, must be recognized as the most difficult problem of world interdependence.

As to the "disadvantages" the Nazis say Germany had to endure, nobody but Hitler would have the effrontery to claim that a nation which was able to accumulate a stockpile of strategic materials sufficient to conduct the most destructive war in all history, was deprived of free access to world markets. What Hitler is really after, however, is to destroy Anglo-American command of the seas and give it to Germany, for irrespective of who may possess the sources of essential materials, *access* to them is dominated by sea power. Hitler knows, therefore, he cannot win this war unless he can conquer Britain and break the British navy's blockade in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Fundamentally, then, the Second World War, like the First World War, is being fought to determine who will command the seas. To visualize the vital relationship between raw material sources, trade routes, sea power and naval bases, turn to the map in the front of the book.

Let us not be misled by contentions that airpower has rendered naval power obsolete; for until such time as vast fleets of bombers can cruise tens of thousands of miles without refueling, the battleship of the line will remain the final arbiter of who is to control the sources of the world's indispensable raw materials. Air power has become a vital adjunct to seapower but it is still a fact that the arm

of the air is exceeding short and the arm of the sea exceeding long. In confirmation of this fact it is interesting to to note that by the use of "navicerts" the British blockade is being enforced to a far greater degree at the ports of departure than at the ports of entry.

But the final proof of the pudding is in the eating and we see that despite the vaunted and vastly superior land and airpower of Germany, she is effectively cut off from the rest of the world by the inadequate and thinly stretched line of the British navy. That same thin line, indeed, is all that stops the bloody waves of Hitler's urge to conquest from beating against American shores. Let that dam be breached and I will guarantee that our debates as to the extent of American interest in this conflict will be abruptly terminated. The truth will then be revealed but, as with every other democracy, the epitaph may be, "too late".

The World of Hitler and the "Wave of the Future"

Since Hitler and his junior partners have announced in no uncertain terms that they propose, henceforth, to control the destinies of mankind, let us briefly examine the precepts and principles upon which that control would be founded. If, in other words, we in America are prepared to acquiesce in the idea that Hitler and his partners should police the seas and direct the world's traffic in indispensable raw materials, it certainly behooves us to examine the qualifications of our new policemen and consider the kind of law and order they would enforce. In making this examination, however, we must be careful

never to lose sight of the fact that there is no difference between big thievery and little thievery and that murder, arson and robbery are still the same irrespective of whether they be committed collectively or individually.

Now despite his abuse of truth as a political weapon, Hitler has been incredibly frank and outspoken concerning his principles and objectives, his notions of law and order and his ideas of the kind of world the rest of us shall live in. So, before I seek to describe the principles and objectives, the law and order and the kind of a world I believe the democratic peoples would like to live in, let us try to visualize Hitler's world.

The first and basic principle of the Nazi "wave of the future" is a reversion to the ancient and stagnant Hindu caste system. The Germans, as *Herrenvolk* or supermen are to be the Brahamins at the top of the heap and from the world capital at Berlin there will extend concentric circles of relative social inferiority and areas of political and economic control supervised by *Gauleiters*. Germany is to become the European fount of industrial production and the "inferior" nations will thus be precluded from developing those industries without which it is impossible to wage modern warfare.

The second principle of the "wave of the future" is a reversion to the kind of absolute autocracy which marked the decadence of the Roman Empire. For the Nazi thesis is not a revolution but a counter-revolution, directed towards the destruction of those freedoms, rights and the dignity of the individual, which, after centuries of bitter struggle, were won by the masses towards the close of the

18th century and which have been developing ever since.

The third principle of the "wave of the future" is a reversion to paganism and a complete blackout of Christian ethics and doctrines. By direct attack and by indirect pressure on several "fronts" at once the Nazis seem to be slowly but surely on the road to achieving this vital objective. The persecution of the Jews, for instance, is a combination of class warfare and an effort to undermine the Ten Commandments by brutalizing German youth and teaching them the propriety of stealing other people's property. Worship of the State, in the person of the Dictator, and the glorification of war and "frightfulness" is then insidiously substituted for the worship of God, the glorification of peace, and the gospel taught by Jesus Christ.

Said Archbishop Grober of Germany on March 28th, "Precisely that which is essentially Christian is being notoriously and fundamentally denied. Our faith is denied and we are reproached with being anti-Nazi". Said Cardinal Hlond of Poland a year ago, "most of the Catholic dioceses of Poland, with more than seven million faithful, are destined to become a land of infidels. The Germans openly proclaim themselves to be the owners of the occupied territories and say that the Poles are their slaves". With these statements and facts, added to our knowledge of how the peoples of all the territories occupied by the Nazis have been stripped of their possessions and chained to the chariot wheels of the conquerors, I submit we have a clear picture of the social and moral order which will exist in the World of Hitler.

The struggle between right and wrong is a thread interwoven throughout the tapestry of all history but never, I believe, have the forces of evil been more unmoral, more bestial, more retrogressive and more exalted and glorified than as personified in the monstrous conceptions of the Nazis.

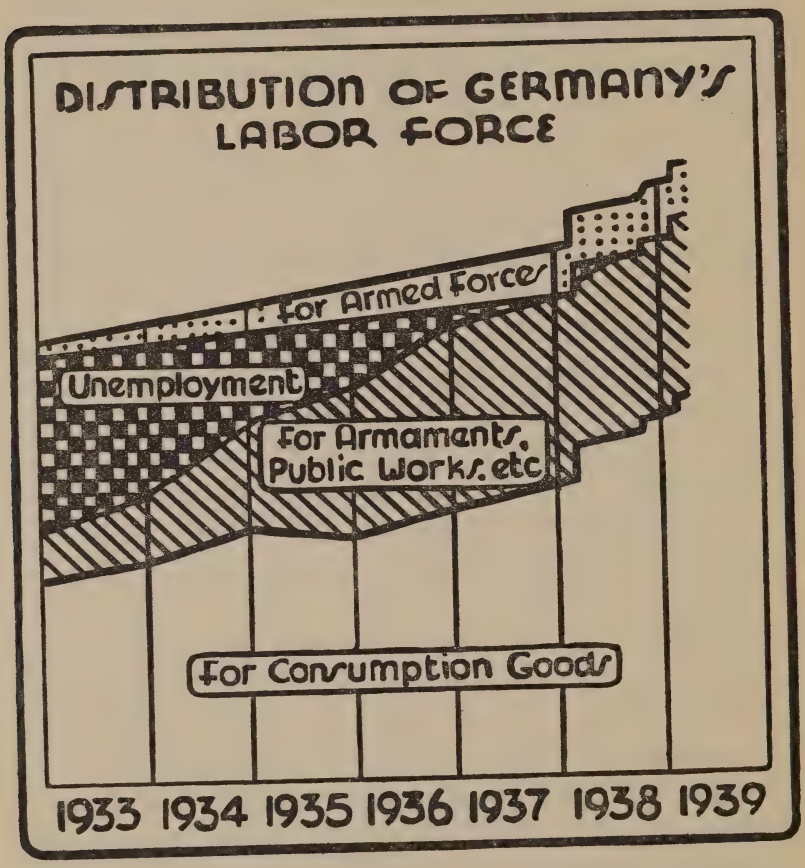
How True Are the Tales of Nazi Economic Miracles?

And now what of the Nazi economic order? Is there any truth in the tales we hear of Nazi economic miracles, of full employment and higher standards of living? Perhaps loss of freedom and abnegation to the cult of anti-Christ might, to those who worship the golden calf of materialism, be worth the sacrifice if permanent full employment, higher standards and greater equality could be assured.

But there are no miracles. The Nazi economy is simply a war economy which has been devoted, for eight years, to the single purpose of creating instruments for waging an aggressive war. It is true that vast unemployment in Germany has been replaced by a labor shortage and a 70 hour work week, but since 1939 the standards of living of the German people have sunk to a record low. There is no miracle in putting idle hands to work making machines to murder and pillage your neighbors.

Look carefully at this very interesting chart. The chart is particularly interesting because it tells us not one tale

but three. It tells us first just how Hitler "solved" the problem of idle hands in Germany.


DISTRIBUTION OF GERMANY'S LABOR FORCE
For Armed Forces
Unemployment
For Armaments, Public Works, etc.
For Consumption Goods
1933 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939

Second, it tells us why Hitler went to war on September 1st, 1939. It tells us Hitler *had* to go to war because he had reached his peak of war production and he knew that Britain and France, with their greater resources,

would eventually surpass him in a prolonged armament race. He had to strike while the iron was hot or forego further power politics. So, naturally, he struck, for the whole Nazi ideology is founded upon waging war.

Third, the chart tells us that Hitler cannot stop waging war until he gains world control for if he does stop and begins to disarm, the chart obviously reverses itself and Hitler finds himself back where he started from.

According to a report of our Department of Commerce, published last March, Germany is spending 72 per cent of her total national income on war. To a German workman that means nine hours out of his twelve hour day is spent in making things which are of no use whatsoever to him or his family. The British workman is now giving about half of his time making things to be wasted in war while the American workman is just beginning at about 20 per cent.

If we follow the advice of our isolationists and allow Hitler and his partners to police the world, it is to be hoped that American workmen will *voluntarily* submit to the lower standards and longer hours German workmen are *compelled* to accept; otherwise it is obvious that a Nazified Europe will far outstrip us in the armaments race we have been forced to enter. And in a world governed by the principle that might is right, weakness would prove fatal.

American taxpayers, who are alarmed at the prospect of Federal taxation being increased from around 9 up to 12 billions a year, should give some thought to what they would have to pay if we lived in Hitler's world and there-

fore had to compete with German armament expenditures. It would cost us about 60 billions a year and, as in Germany, such costs necessarily would be permanent, not temporary.

Since it is inescapable that if we lived in Hitler's world and desired to retain our independence we would have to equal the Nazi armament effort, it is imperative for us to understand how the Nazis are financing their vast requirements. The system I am about to describe is a standard total war economy and is, in every sense of the word, painfully simple.

How a Total War Economy Operates

The government first determines what the national production of goods would be, on a basis that contemplates working all labor available to the maximum permitted by human endurance. From this total possible production of goods the government next deducts the minimum quantity of consumers' goods that is required to feed, clothe and shelter the non-military population on a sub-standard basis. The balance of the total production, 72 per cent in Germany's case, is then allocated to war requirements. Ration tickets are issued to each citizen providing him with his share of the bare necessities of subsistence from the 28 per cent supply of consumers' goods, and after that it is immaterial to the government what he does with his money. It is immaterial to the government because there isn't anything he can buy that is of any use to him except

government bonds and he has to buy those whether he likes it or not.

So that is an ultimate or total war economy and there is nothing new about it nor have the Nazis any monopoly on the idea. They have simply arrived at the ultimate first because they started first, but the British are getting there fast and—if we have to live in Hitler's world—we ourselves will, of necessity, arrive there in due time. It is a perpetual system and can continue operating as long as a vigilant and efficient *Gestapo* can prevent the German people from revolting.

In the present and forthcoming struggle between total war economies, however, the foresighted Nazis correctly calculated on having a very considerable advantage over their rivals. For part of their strategy and, indeed, part of their ideology, contemplated the systematic looting and exploitation of conquered territories. Exactly how much the loot has thus far amounted to in dollars and cents is, of course, difficult to estimate but during this first year of occupation the amount cannot be less than five billion dollars. In France alone every Frenchman in the occupied area is being taxed $80 a year to support his unwelcome German guests. But since two million Frenchmen are still being held in concentration camps as prisoners of war and since whatever production there is is chiefly being used to support the Nazi war machine, stolen goods cannot be replaced and the law of diminishing returns must be operating in France with a vengeance. Nevertheless, there is no denying that the temporary gain to the Nazis by conquest has been very great.

Should Hitler defeat Britain and obtain command of the seas, the problem of demobilization and consequent unemployment in Germany should be solved by two factors. First, by the need of considerable numbers of young Germans for garrison duty in the occupied nations, and second, by the ability of the Nazis to compel subservient nations to trade with Germany on her own terms. Should America then "cooperate" and reach an "agreement" with Hitler and all hope of resistance in the conquered democracies thus be destroyed, there is no reason why the Nazis could not permanently consolidate their conquests to the great profit of Germany.

The ruthless social, political and economic reorganization the Nazis are effecting in Poland would seem to be a sufficient demonstration of the methods which they would employ in reaching a solution to similar problems elsewhere in Europe. Wholesale transfers of language or occupational groups and the deliberate extermination of those classified as undesirable or unemployable are surefire methods of solving the problem of unemployment outside of Germany.

Why Hitler Would Control South America

The Nazis have also given us another clear and convincing, although less brutal demonstration, of the methods they would employ in obtaining such goods and materials as they require from small nations not directly subject to their political control. German manufactured goods are

bartered for the raw materials of a small nation through the medium of credits redeemable only in German goods. The German manufactured goods, heavily subsidized by the government in order to eliminate any possible competition from private producers, are at first sold at prices too cheap to be refused. Once, however, the small nation has forfeited its former trade with others and become dependent upon its exports to Germany, the prices of the German goods are raised and the prices of the small nation's goods are lowered—to the breaking point.

Since the importation of South American raw materials was indispensable to pre-war Europe, we can safely assume that the same condition will hold true to a ravaged and half-starved Hitlerized Europe. Prior to the war Europe took about 40 per cent of South America's exports and we took 15 per cent. Having in a great many instances, the same type of raw materials to export as South America, it would be impossible for us to compete with Europe's exports for the simple reason that there would be very little we could accept from South America in exchange for our manufactured goods.

If, furthermore, we consider that there are over 2,000,000 ambitious Germans scattered throughout every country in South America and if we consider that in the great majority of cases the politically dominant armies of South American nations are German trained and that their governments are more similar *in fact* to autocracies than to democracies, it seems reasonable to assume that our chances of preventing Hitler from securing control of South America would not be favorable, even though our

fleet held effective command of the waters of the entire Western Hemisphere.

The Ideals of Hitler's Junior Partners

With such portions of the balance of the globe as Hitler might not desire for Germany, left to the tender mercies of his junior partners, Japan and Italy, the state of affairs contemplated by our isolationists would be fully realized and America would be isolated indeed. But now that we have examined the social, political and economic principles and objectives of the motivating force of the Axis combination, let us quickly scan the records of these junior partners who would, of course, be fellow policemen in the World of Hitler.

The propensity of the Japanese for treaty breaking, conquest, murder, arson and robbery on a grand scale runs their Nazi brethren a close second if the race is not neck and neck. In their Tanaka Memorial the Japanese have expressed the fundamental conception of the whole Axis theme definitely and concisely: "If we merely hope to develop trade, we shall eventually be defeated by England and America, who possess unsurpassable capitalistic power". Premier Tanaka then goes on to say, "the proposed reduction of armaments is nothing but a means to limit our military strength making it impossible for us to conquer the vast territory of China". In other words, if unable to get what you want by fair means get it by foul means. Of course, the Japanese deny the authenticity of the Tanaka Memorial, but can anybody deny that the

policy advocated by Premier Tanaka exactly expresses the procedure that has *actually* been followed by the Axis brotherhood? And do we not know through experience that conquest by Japan means the fencing off of the occupied territories into monopolistic zones for the exclusive benefit of Japanese trade and commerce?

Finally, there is Mussolini who states, " we are going to war against the decrepit democracies * * * this revolution asserts itself against those who control the riches and gold of the earth". Here is the familiar Axis theme again. If your neighbor has something you covet just murder him and take what you want. There is, after all, nothing simpler than the law of the jungle but in civilized communities we call it anarchy.

At this point we should have a fairly clear picture of the kind of a world which would be ordered and policed by Hitler and his partners. A picture, mind you, that has not been drawn by visualizing the possible effects of theories and statements, but one drawn by recording the *actual performance* of the plans and policies of the Axis powers. Inasmuch as the new social order that has been described is the very antithesis of our accustomed Christian-democratic civilization, it would seem imperative to try to forecast what the future might hold in store for America should we be isolated in the totalitarian World of Hitler.

II

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

America Isolated in the World of Hitler

SINCE THERE APPEARS TO BE little doubt that the British will be defeated by the Axis without our direct participation in the war, we must primarily assume that we followed the advice of the isolationists and allowed the Axis powers to conquer and divide up the British Empire. If America refused to go the limit to help Britain we could hardly expect the officers and men of the British fleet to leave their families and fellow countrymen to be starved by the Nazis in order to help America. On the contrary, we should logically have to assume that what happened in France would happen in Britain, i.e., that British Lavals and Darlans, under Nazi compulsion, would eventually throw the weight of Britain against us.

Under such circumstances we would doubtless abandon our interests in the Orient and move our fleet to the At-

lantic. We would, however, at once face an immediate naval superiority in existing naval strength in the Atlantic, plus a naval construction potential that could outbuild us at least 3 to 1 in Europe alone. As to the Pacific, it is interesting to note that the Japanese fleet will enjoy, in 1942, a brief superiority in capital ships over our own.

Nevertheless, it would be most unlikely that the Axis would seek to crack a tough nut like America by direct military attack. We could confidently anticipate that our isolationists and appeasers would soon be in the saddle and that we would, therefore, sign some kind of a treaty with an anxious and willing Hitler. For, as previously mentioned, trade with us and with South America would be more indispensable to a ravaged and Hitlerized Europe than with pre-war Europe. Moreover, all the Axis powers would desire time to consolidate their conquests and all would be sorely in need of maritime tonnage and every variety of goods and materials. Hitler's statement that, "two worlds are in conflict * * * one of those worlds must break asunder" would be conveniently forgotten—for the time being. And there would also be forgotten the tombstones of the European democracies who believed, like our isolationists, that they had a choice in the matter of keeping out of war.

We could anticipate that our armaments production would be increasing steadily and we would be growing ever stronger and feeling more secure. We could likewise anticipate that, in the meantime, South American trade with Europe would have been wholly restored and that

simultaneously the usual deliberate and efficient Nazi methods of infiltration would have destroyed the last vestiges of democracy south of the Panama Canal. Nazi airlines and airfields in South America would be enormously expanded as compared with today, naval bases would have been built in the Azores and Cape Verde Islands and the former British and French strongholds in the Atlantic would have been reinforced.

Within a few years after Britain's defeat the Axis partners would have caught their breath and the stage would then be set for the final squeeze; the economic squeeze that might extinguish, perhaps for centuries, the last light of liberty in the world. For let us not deceive ourselves, the calm after the storm would be short and sweet.

It is mere wishful thinking to believe that Hitler and his partners would be content to sit idly by while America waxed fat and prosperous; while America developed the good life and a just society, while America became the great world power-house of democratic resistance and propaganda. What an impossible picture! A rose colored America living in a dream world; a holier than thou America, too holy to fight; a sanctimonious America that would set a good example and lead a conscience stricken Hitler up the sawdust trail of righteousness by letting him win the war.

No conqueror in history could accomplish the physical pacification of occupied territories so easily, safely and cheaply as Hitler. What chance has any unarmed people to revolt against highly trained and alert garrison troops equipped with airplanes, tanks and automatic guns of all

descriptions? But yet so long as the light of liberty burns in the world, hope will surely be kept alive in the hearts of Europe's conquered millions. For love of freedom, to those who have enjoyed it, is difficult, perhaps impossible to destroy.

Nobody knows this better than Hitler. Has he not said plainly that of the two worlds, of freedom and of slavery, one must break asunder? Hitler knows that while democracy exists in America utter subjugation of the conquered peoples could never be made effective. Hitler knows that non-cooperation, passive resistance and sabotage are immune to the threat of naked force. We may rest assured, therefore, that Hitler knows the only way he could ever make the Nazi dream come true would be to kill the last vestige of hope in the hearts of the conquered peoples by extinguishing the light of liberty in America.

How the Axis Would Seek to Destroy Democracy in America

No great exercise of the imagination is required to figure out what methods Hitler would adopt to achieve that objective. By authenticated statements which Hitler has made to his associates, by observation of what has now become standardized Nazi practice, by realization of the life and death power held by whomsoever commands the seas and, finally, by using our common sense, we can be positive Hitler and his partners would endeavor to so undermine the American System through social, political

and economic pressures, simultaneously applied, that our democracy would destroy itself through dissension, revolution and civil war.

To our appeasers the idea that the Axis might institute commercial sanctions against us would, no doubt, seem grotesque. Why, one can hear them ask, would Hitler sacrifice profitable business with us merely to gain political control of America? Would not the Nazis benefit by our goods and services as much as we benefited by theirs? That is what naively honest, business trained, Neville Chamberlain thought when he was trying to "make a deal" with Hitler. The record proves, however, that psychopathic conquerers do not think like business men and that the Axis powers have habitually conducted their foreign trade and commerce for politics and conquest rather than for profit. They prefer the slave trade to foreign trade.

It is an old saying that coming events cast their shadows before, so let us, in the case of the Japanese, seek to anticipate coming events by appraising definite shadows which have already been cast. Early in December, 1940, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, said in effect that if Japan decided we were giving too much help to Britain, Japan might attack us. Japan, in other words, notified us that if our foreign policies did not meet with her approval she would make war against us.

At that time our fleet was in Hawaii, the British completely controlled the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, Singapore and important Allied forces blocked Japan in the south, hostile Russian aircraft and well equipped troops were stationed in the north and determined Chinese armies

faced hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers in the west. If Matsuoka did not hesitate to threaten us under such circumstances, what might we expect were all these deterrents swept away, as they would be, if the British were defeated and our fleet had to be moved to the Atlantic?

What kind of conditions would we be compelled to accept to obtain the supplies of tin, rubber, ferro-manganese and the many other indispensable "Strategic" and "Critical" materials which we import nearly seven thousand miles across the Pacific, and which our vast armament program demands in ever increasing quantities? Would Matsuoka tell us, in collaboration with Hitler, to turn over Hawaii and the Panama Canal or face a complete stoppage of our import and export trade?* And if we refused, if the stoppage occurred, how could we keep our industrial system functioning?

For if we followed the advice of our isolationists and held the fleet at home, on the defensive, the Axis powers would have command of the seas; they would control the sources of the indispensable materials and they could, at any moment suitable to their purpose and convenience, subject our industrial system to an economic squeeze that

* Since the above was written Matsuoka has stated the preliminary conditions under which the Axis powers might grant peace to the Anglo-American nations. They are, in brief, as follows:

The strongest powers will fix all spheres of influence—the Axis to have naval parity with the Anglo-Americans—demilitarization of Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, the Red Sea, Singapore and all American bases in the Pacific—Axis control of Europe and the Mediterranean—American control not to extend south of Panama—"independence" of Dutch and French Oriental possessions under the "supervision" of Japan—elimination of Australian immigration bars against the Japanese.

The Japanese admit these may be called victors' terms, but say the Axis powers have achieved a dominant position permitting liberty of dictation.

would be comparable in effect to the embrace of a giant boa constrictor.

Could Our American System Stand the Strain?

Perhaps American ingenuity could accomplish the complete readjustment of commerce and trade that would be only one of our problems under such circumstances. Perhaps we could at once find substitutes for all these imported raw materials which the experts say are indispensable to us today and, at the same time, continue to match the combined Axis armament program. Perhaps the constant Communist-Nazi efforts to stir up strikes, class warfare, racial hatreds, religious feuds, dissension and disunity —under the most difficult economic conditions imaginable—would be nullified by the strength of American Democracy.

But would not our great sea-rail terminals, our hundreds of wharves and docks and our teeming Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coast harbors fall idle? To whom would our farmers sell their surplus wheat, cotton, tobacco, beef and hogs? How many automobiles could be sold if steel cost three or four times as much as today and rubber tires cost $50.00 instead of $10.00 apiece? And how many people could afford to buy such expensive automobiles if 72 per cent of our national income were spent on armaments? What would happen to our famous high standard of living, to collective bargaining and to free enterprise? In short, would even a vestige of our accustomed Ameri-

can way of life be left to us were we isolated in the World of Hitler?

The isolationists must believe that "it can't happen here" or they would not so vociferously advise us to keep out of this war; to hold our navy at home and thereby relinquish command of the seas to the Axis powers. Possibly they have information unavailable to me. Possibly they know of materials under our control that would be as indispensable to the Axis powers as the materials under Axis control would be indispensable to us. I do not know of any such materials. I have tried to show what *can* happen and *why* it can happen and it is up to the isolationists to prove *why* it can't happen here. The record thus far established by Hitler definitely places the burden of proof upon them.

It is easy to be a political Pollyanna; easy to assure distracted mothers that their sons will be in no danger, easy to say we can hide in our isolated cyclone cellar and emerge unscathed when the storm has passed, easy to close one's eyes and pretend the handwriting on the wall is not there. We are just human beings, after all, and none of us *likes* to hear bad news or to face hard facts. But it is the duty of *honest* leadership, not merely to tell the people bad news and hard facts, but to prepare them and the nation for the *worst* that may happen. That is the only way our national security can be guaranteed. In the words of Senator Tydings: "it is better to have it and not need it than to need it and not have it".

There is nothing new about our mortal interest in who commands the seas. In this war, history is only repeating itself. In this war, like the last, we were not directly concerned *until* it became evident that without our participation command of the seas would pass from friendly British hands into hostile German hands. This time, however, we are not faced simply with the substitution of a German Empire for a British Empire, but with the destruction of the Christian civilization upon which our democratic institutions and social order are founded.

From the isolationist viewpoint, it is true that this war, when it started, was not our war. We were not attacked or in danger of being bombed and had the Allies defeated Hitler our position of non-belligerency might have been considered legitimate—if the maintenance of international social order were guaranteed by the Allies. But Hitler defeated the Allies; today Britain stands alone between the Nazis and world domination and our position is utterly changed. The trouble is that many of our people have not yet sensed this vital change and they think we can choose whether we should get into this war or stay out of it. But that choice no longer exists; the sole choice that exists today is whether we shall remain on the defensive or take the offensive.

I quote again from the Senate Naval Affairs Committee report of May 15th, a year ago: "Without the power to carry the fight to the enemy, there can be no alternative other than subjugation to his wishes". Said Admiral Yar-

nell last August: "The spirit of the offensive is the only spirit that will win in war * * * it is a pernicious idea that the fleet can protect the nation by remaining on the defensive in our own waters".

I stand wholeheartedly with Colonel Lindbergh on one proposition. Let us get all the way in or get all the way out; that is, as far out as we can get out in view of our present commitments. The Colonel believes we should remain on the defensive. I believe we should take the offensive. The decision, of course, rests with the American people but one fact is not subject to debate. There is no further time left for procrastination and delay for this war has become *our* war.

What kind of an offensive should we take? Exactly what should we do? The kind of an offensive we should take must be determined by our elected Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, and the experts and highly trained officers at the head of our armed forces. As to exactly what we should do, we must do whatever is necessary to defeat Hitler. How can there be any limit to the effort to safeguard our lives, our liberty, and our Christian religion?

I have just said: "In this war history is only repeating itself". And that statement brings up a question that American youth demands to have answered. Is history going to *keep on* repeating itself? Must every generation of Americans spill its blood in the temporary settlement of Europe's age-old quarrels and conflicts? Is that all there is to fight for? Can we give our youth no hope for a

better future, no great ideals that are *worth* fighting for? I believe we can.

The World of Democracy and Anglo-American Qualifications

Now that we have described the World of Hitler and tried to envision the position of America isolated in such a world, let us seek to describe another kind of world, the World of Democracy and try to envision the position of America as the leader of such a world. And because we have examined the qualifications of Hitler and his partners as world policemen and have considered the kind of law and order they would enforce, we must next examine the qualifications of the English Speaking Nations as world policemen and consider the kind of law and order they would enforce.

The idea that America should assume leadership in policing the world will be startling and highly objectionable to some of our people, so let me at once point out three inescapable facts. First, that the normal functioning of our industrial system in the interdependent world of today, rests upon the maintenance of social order virtually everywhere. Second, that policemen are required to maintain social order irrespective of whether it be local, national or international. Third, that if the English Speaking Nations do not undertake the policing, somebody else will.

Are there any other nations better qualified to do the job? Over 200 million people, occupying the chosen places of the earth, sharing the same language, traditions,

habits and way of life in general, would compose an Anglo-American Alliance. Our combined sea-power is more than twice that of all other nations and between us we possess virtually all of the strategic and vital naval bases. We transact 35 per cent of the world's trade and commerce, we control 75 per cent of the world's gold; in short, our economic resources exceed those of the rest of the world put together. Let me quote from the book "The Strategy of Raw Materials" by Brooks Emeny:

> "The richest raw material regions of the world are in great part under the dominance of the Anglo-American Powers. * * * These two national groups, which account for over 60 per cent of the world's industrial output and exercise financial or sovereign control over 75 per cent of the mineral resources, hold the balance of power in so far as the essential commodities of peace and war are concerned."

Britain could contribute the administrative genius which has developed the world's greatest empire and has created a Commonwealth of Nations that actually works. She could contribute her vast experience in world affairs, her unequalled system of jurisprudence, and that new and real democracy, born of equality of sacrifice, suffering and danger which, Phenix-like, is today arising from the ashes of London. America could contribute her enormous economic power and, more important, the trust and confidence of most nations in the justice and altruism of American ideals and purposes.

In this respect it seems appropriate to quote from my first book "The Voice of Young America," written in 1932:

"The only positive means of restoring world confidence and commerce is a commercial and military alliance with the British Empire. We speak the same language, our customs and traditions are based on those of England, and a third of our import and export business is conducted with the Empire. The mutual tariff restrictions of both nations could be gradually reduced and the overpowering commercial supremacy of such an alliance would soon compel other nations to seek the advantages which would be gained by co-operating with us.

"Both nations realize that another great war might spell the doom of civilization and both realize that the world today is treading on the brink of disaster. Such an alliance could guarantee France against another invasion; it might check Japanese imperialism; its strength would sponsor the peace of the world, and its influence would hasten the reduction of armaments. America's duty to herself and to humanity is clear—it lies within our power to lead a bewildered world back to happiness, prosperity and peace."

As one who has traveled extensively and studied business conditions in almost every part of the globe, I cannot emphasize too strongly the fundamental bond which exists among people speaking the same language. It is common knowledge, furthermore, that treaties and alliances, to be valid and lasting, must be mutually advantageous and be based upon a profitable exchange of goods and services between integrated economic systems. Because of these reasons I believe our current Pan-American efforts may become atrophied once normal trade is restored, whereas our relations with the British Empire are certain to flourish and grow ever closer.

Will America Follow Her False Leaders Into the Abyss?

For over twenty years it has lain within our power "to lead a bewildered world back to happiness, prosperity and peace", by cooperating with the other English Speaking Nations, but instead we have hearkened to the false, cynical and unchristian counsel of the isolationists. Because of them my comrades of the First World War died in vain. We won the war with our sweat and blood and they lost the peace with their selfishness and greed. What a price we are paying and will pay for the stupidity of those little men of little vision! And yet, today, incredible as it may seem, the isolationists are trying to tell us that what we see before us is not there. They are still trying to make us believe we can isolate ourselves when hundreds of thousands of our men in uniform and billions of dollars of our money for armaments are the proof positive that we do not and cannot live in a world apart.

Will we again heed those whose false counsel has led this nation to the most dangerous crisis in our history? Is it possible that we will once more follow their advice, that we will sit supinely by and permit Hitler and his fellow gangsters to divide and conquer 200 million English speaking people? Is it possible that we will permit Hitler and his fellow gangsters to steal from us, without even a struggle, our unparalleled position of world leadership and the magnificent possessions won by the courage, foresight and toil of our Anglo-American forefathers? Alas, it is possible—unless the fog of isolationist and defeatist propa-

ganda is dissipated by the bright sun of truth and the American people are given the chance to understand the *real* issues now at stake.

The fact that the Anglo-American nations are fighting for their self-preservation is no good reason why their peace aims should not be stated and a comparison between the World of Democracy and the World of Hitler thereby made possible. The British have already been criticized for not having announced their peace aims but the criticism is unjustified since it is impossible for Britain even to formulate any kind of objectives until America accepts her responsibilities as the world's most powerful nation. Until that time Britain can only fight to survive. The statement of possible Anglo-American principles and objectives which follows is, therefore, predicated upon the assumption that America will henceforth cease playing the game of ostrich and grow up to man's estate.

General Sherman, whose remark that, "war is hell", is justly famous, also said, "war's legitimate object is more perfect peace". And certainly the Anglo-American youth of today, if they can save their nations and win this war, are entitled to look forward to something more perfect than the prospect of another armistice, followed by another world war.

The Principles and Doctrines of Democracy

At first glance it might appear that anyone attempting to set forth possible Anglo-American peace aims must possess a nerve of brass and a sublime and egotistical con-

fidence in his own erudition. Upon second thought, however, it becomes evident that simple observation, rather than erudition, is required to do the job. For one does not have to call upon the imagination to set forth these peace aims but needs only to assemble the historical principles and doctrines upon which the English Speaking Nations are founded and combine them with those of more recent origin, in order to obtain a united front of all the democratic peoples. For the sake of clarity and brevity I have undertaken to describe these mutual principles and doctrines in numbered paragraphs.

First, the fundamental doctrines of the Magna Carta, i.e., trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus, taxation by Parliament.

Second, the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, which are so completely the antithesis of the Nazi ideology that they must be quoted in full; the immortal document states:

> "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to constitute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Third, the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States familiarly known as the Bill of Rights, specifically reaffirming the doctrines of the Magna Carta and

guaranteeing freedom of religion, assembly, speech, press and the right to petition.

Fourth, the doctrine of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude, except punishment by due process of law.

Fifth, the Open Door principles enunciated by Secretary Hay in 1899 providing for equality of commercial opportunity in undeveloped regions and guaranteeing weak nations against aggression. These principles to be made effective by a strictly supervised colonial mandate system applied to all non-self governing territories, to the end that national monopolies and special privileges shall be prohibited.

Sixth, the principles of President Wilson as to international cooperation, compulsory arbitration, collective security, self-determination by plebiscite, general disarmament, equal rights for minorities and for small nations.

Seventh, the principles of Secretary Hull providing for the revival of international trade by extensions of credit and Reciprocal Trade Treaties without discrimination. In addition to these, and in the same category, are the principles of planned cooperative development of international projects and of backward regions and of the mutual supervisory trusteeship of indispensable raw materials.

Eighth, the principles of President Roosevelt as to higher standards of living for all the people, more equal distribution of wealth, collective bargaining and social security under a regulated system of competitive enterprise conducted for profit.

The Methods of Achieving the Objectives of Democracy

Since it should not be difficult to obtain the unanimous approval of these broad principles and doctrines by the English Speaking Nations, the next question that arises is by what means such objectives can be made effective. In this respect it is suggested that a modified League of Nations be reconstituted to meet regularly in Washington. The acts and decisions of regional Assemblies might be approved by a Supreme Council composed exclusively of Prime Ministers and heads of nations.

The final authority which would enforce the acts and decisions of the new League and of a World Court of Arbitration, however, should be a Permanent Commission representing the English Speaking Nations according to population. In the event of an emergency this permanent commission could request the President of the United States to convene a special session of the League but it would be empowered to take action immediately.

The Bank for International Settlements might likewise be reconstituted in Washington and should be granted a loan by the American government of sufficient gold not only to restore the validity of the monetary systems of cooperating nations but also to maintain stability of international exchange. In addition, the Bank should have general supervision of all international loans and developments and should approve the policies of raw material cartels.

These supervisory duties of the Bank should, of course,

be carried out in conjunction with permanent Commodity Control and International Development Commissions as well as with such additional Commissions as past experience and future needs prove to be useful and necessary. If these suggestions were carried out the American dollar would become the international standard of exchange and the B.I.S., under the direction of the League, would become an enormously powerful factor in the maintenance both of political and economic peace and stability.

These suggestions will, of course, bring forth cries of "Yankee Imperialism" and will naturally arouse the indignation of the gangster autocracies and of their dupes and mouthpieces, the isolationists. But America, which would remain the final arbiter in this new international cooperative effort, has no territorial or dictatorial ambitions. Although our position as the world's most powerful nation inevitably will compel us to accept the responsibilities commensurate with the privileges we enjoy, we are and always will be essentially a nation of "stay-at-homes". Our keenest desire is to be left alone in order that we may employ our own resources to achieve security and a more abundant life for our people.

In this interdependent world of today, however, we are learning that we cannot enjoy peace and security at home if war and strife rage abroad. To repeat, we are learning that the delivery of manganese to our factories is as vital to the individual American citizen as the delivery of milk to his doorstep, and we are learning that both deliveries require the smooth and uninterrupted functioning of our national and international social order. And that is all

America wants. Insofar as other nations are concerned they need have no fear of "Yankee Imperialism", for our only interest in them and the only compulsion we would ever force upon them would be the minimum required to leave us and the rest of the world in peace.

We all know that law and social order cannot be maintained anywhere without police and the exercise of power. What counts, however, is the *kind* of law and social order the police enforce. We are now familiar with the respective principles and doctrines of the two worlds "which must break asunder" and therefore know the kind of law and social order that would be enforced in the World of Hitler and the kind that would be enforced in the World of Democracy. Have we really any choice between the two?

How Would the A.A.A. Police the World?

The next question is how and to what extent would the Anglo-American Alliance police the world? Would Anglo-American troops be sent to Russia or Timbuctoo whenever dissension turned into armed strife and bloodshed? Certainly not. The task of policing the world should consist of prevention and segregation rather than intervention.

In the first place, the A.A.A. would continue to hold its preponderant naval power and its anticipated superiority in military aviation and other nations would be ultimately compelled, by the threat of raw material sanctions, to scrap their major aggressive instruments of war. Arms production everywhere would be carefully scrutinized and perhaps licensed by the League so that any war which

broke out after arbitration failed would necessarily have to be fought with wholly inadequate and defensive weapons.

In the second place, the A.A.A. would always have the final choice of whether it desired to intervene or not. If, however, one nation were named the aggressor, the full power of the League would be employed against that nation and in favor of the nation attacked. An immediate and complete blockade would be enforced by the A.A.A. and all the punitive powers of the B.I.S. used against the aggressor. The invaded nation, on the other hand, would receive arms and equipment from the A.A.A. and loans and indispensable raw materials from the B.I.S. Under such circumstances the chances of war occurring on any major scale or continuing for any prolonged length of time would appear negligible.

It is possible, therefore, that America, simply by cooperating with the other English Speaking Nations, could, without loss of blood or treasure, assure itself and the rest of the world of peace and order perhaps for generations to come. The plan proposed is thus seen to consist of the immediate use of an inevitable alliance of the English Speaking Nations, to correct the glaring flaw in an international organization which otherwise proved its practicability and its right to live. For in the A.A.A. would be found the missing link that wrecked the old League of Nations i.e., a single authority equipped with the military and economic power necessary to enforce its decisions.

Most experts agree that a three to five year period of armistice must follow the termination of this war and that

no new and grandiose scheme of world government could cope with the problems which will have to be solved. The instruments of political and economic power and control which will be required must be simple, flexible and immediately workable, for reconstruction and progress are dynamic and the needs of tomorrow cannot be anticipated by fixed formulas or rigid political organizations. To what extent future developments may take the shape of more or less autarchy, internationalism, regionalism or a world cartel system time alone can tell. It is, therefore, feasible only to propose a practical administrative plan and to set forth the general principles upon which we can proceed to restore world trade and prosperity as quickly as possible once the war is over.

It is to be hoped that from the A.A.A., which is designed to act only as a temporary trustee of world peace, justice and social order, there may, in time, evolve a highly efficient World Congress and a system of collective security which can police the globe and thus relieve America of a responsibility she would be only too glad to share with a brotherhood of nations. Let us, however, never lose sight of the fact that the maintenance of world trade and prosperity will always be a more effective method of keeping peace than the most efficient super-government ever conceived by the mind of man.

What Kind of Peace Terms Should Be Offered to Germany?

Now that we have set forth the peace aims and objectives of the English Speaking Nations and sought to describe the methods through which they might be achieved in the World of Democracy, let us take up the third major problem which consists of the kind of peace terms that might be offered to Germany. There are obviously only two possible policies to choose, repression or reconciliation.

Despite the appalling brutality of the Nazis and the deliberate butchery of civilians of both sexes without regard to age, we must recognize the fact that permanent world peace can never be achieved if the strongest nation in Europe is to be dismembered, occupied by foreign troops and suppressed ad infinitum. If, furthermore, the German people believed such a fate was in store for them, we can be certain that even the most rabid anti-Nazis among them would fight to the last ditch and that Europe would probably become such a shambles as to be past redemption. For the sake of posterity, therefore, we must try to forget our hates and prejudices and seek to induce Germany to return to the World of Democracy and to regain her former exalted position in science, art, music, and literature, by adopting a policy of reconciliation and offering her a just and honorable peace.

The primary requisite for an Anglo-American armistice with Germany would necessarily be a complete destruction of the Nazi regime by the German people and the restoration of a democratic form of government. The second

requisite would be the restitution of loot stolen from the conquered nations and such repairs to damaged property as are economically feasible. The third requisite would be the orderly withdrawal of German troops from all occupied areas concerning which there were no boundary disputes prior to the outbreak of this war.

Once these simple conditions had been agreed to by the new German government, Germany should forthwith take her place in the reconstituted League of Nations, without discrimination of any kind, to the end that the work of reconstruction and restoration of trade and commerce could commence immediately. If the principles and doctrines of democracy were *not* applied without partiality to *all* nations desiring to cooperate, the foundations of the World of Democracy would at once be undermined and the whole structure would eventually crumble. There is no reason why Germany's African colonies should not be restored to her under mandate provided she desired to incur the financial losses involved and her petition to the League were approved.

In judging Germany we must remember the insults and injustices heaped upon a proud people by the victorious Allies and we must remember how the young and struggling Weimar Republic was hindered instead of helped. Nor must we forget that Hitler came into power chiefly because the democratic leaders of Germany were refused any relief whatsoever from the intolerable conditions which existed there in 1932. And finally let us seek to bear in mind the noble words of President Lincoln:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

What Are the Chances of Peace with Germany?

To offer "Lincolnian" peace terms, predicated upon the overthrow of a government flushed with repeated victories and holding the mirage of world domination before the eyes of the German people, may seem preposterous at this moment; but Nazi victories will end someday or, in truth, Hitler and his partners will be dictating, not offering, peace terms to us. The Nazis, however, are analagous to a pugilist who has all but knocked out his opponent by hitting him a terrific blow before his fists were up and he was ready to fight. Because the Nazis are presently administering a pitiless beating to their groggy and wholly unprepared adversary, democracy, they and some of our own defeatists seem to have come to the erroneous conclusion that they are really supermen and invincible; yet we have never seen the Nazis faced by a foe whose equipment even began to approach equality with their own. Hitler boasts to the world he cannot be defeated but that does not preclude the possibility that he may defeat himself.

Grant that the Nazis may over run all of the European continent, including the Ukraine, by the autumn of 1941, and we may safely conclude that, having no more worlds to conquer, Hitler's troubles will begin. Cut off from numerous indispensable raw materials by an airtight Anglo-American naval blockade; extended throughout a

famine stricken and disorganized continent seething with enmity and revolt; harrassed by an overburdened and wholly inadequate system of transportation; and facing ultimate inferiority in bombing power, the German people may begin to wonder just what they have gained by their conquests other than world hatred, utter regimentation and a desperately low standard of living. Under such circumstances, and provided the Anglo-Americans stick to their guns, it is not unreasonable to hope that the German people might revolt against Hitler and accept our invitation to joint the new World of Democracy.

The Four Horsemen of the Machine Age

For we need Germany to help rehabilitate and solve the problems of our new World of Democracy. We must seek by every means within our power to turn the genius of the German people from destructive to constructive effort. We need all the help we can get because it is no secret that the causes of unemployment, want in the midst of plenty, insecurity and inequality of wealth and opportunity—the causes of the four factors that fertilize the soil from which class warfare and dictators spring like evil weeds—have not yet been found.

These, to our Machine Age civilization, are the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, and they must be vanquished if that civilization is to endure and flourish. There is no use indulging in wishful thinking as to what we might do if Hitler would leave us alone. Everyone knows that the threat of Hitler has altered our whole psychology and way

of life within the space of one year and it is plain dishonesty to say or hope that this threat to our social order will vanish if we allow the Axis powers to defeat the other English Speaking Nations. We must look hard facts squarely in the face and realize that this is *our* war and we have got to win it *if* we are to have any hope of ever regaining our accustomed American way of life.

Next, we must realize that even when the war is satisfactorily ended, we will be faced with appalling problems of world readjustment, rehabilitation and recovery. In short, we must realize that not until international social order has been restored, can we hope to turn our attention back to our fundamental domestic problems. Not until then can we pick up the threads of economic research and analysis we spun from 1933 to '39; not until then can we turn our undivided attention to vanquishing the Four Horsemen of our Machine Age civilization.

Despite these great and discouraging obstacles which stand in the path of our progress toward security and a more abundant life for all our people, I, for one, am not disheartened. I believe the American people can and will overcome every obstacle that stands in their way, once they understand exactly what they are up against and the deadly fog of uncertainty and hesitation in which they are now groping, has been dispelled.

Is There Hope of Solving the Problem of Unemployment?

The reason we are faced with the paradox of want in the midst of plenty is because the productive sciences have far outstripped the social sciences. But before Hitler began his career of destruction the social sciences were making rapid progress and, through knowledge gained by trial and error, economists were beginning to agree that the cause of many of our troubles lay in our system of distribution; that is to say, in our money system.

Obviously our problem was not one of production, for we had more goods than we could consume; nor, on the other hand, could it be one of consumption, for there is no limit to consumption and we had want in the midst of plenty. If the farms and factories at one end of a railroad were overloaded with goods, and consumers at the other end were in need of these same goods, no great economic mind is required to figure out that something must be wrong with the freight cars which carry the goods from producers to consumers. And so it is with our money system, for dollars are merely the paper freight cars that carry goods from producers to consumers.

That is a grossly oversimplified explanation of one of the major puzzles which we have to solve, but to repeat, it is one concerning which much information and much agreement was being obtained before the Second World War began. I believe that, given time and opportunity, we *can* correct dis-equilibriums in our economic system and that we *can* prevent depressions and unemployment; and,

furthermore, I believe that were permanent full employment and prosperity once achieved in this country, a Golden Age would dawn for all mankind.

For economic disturbances, in a nation so great and powerful as ours, are apt to start at home and travel abroad. Increased foreign trade, for instance, is derived from increased domestic trade, and relative stability in international exchange values can be attained only through reasonable stability in the purchasing power of domestic monies.

Of one thing, however, we may be certain. Whatever the outcome of this war we shall witness great changes, both political and economic and both national and international, in our capitalist-democratic social order. Changes, to my way of thinking, that will be for the best. Already, for instance, we hear earnest discussion in Britain concerning proposals to establish permanently a national system guaranteeing a minimum subsistence ration for every citizen. And in America one hears talk of a capital export tax to the end that American labor shall not, in the days to come, be exploited for the benefit of capital as was British labor during the Imperial Period.

But, at the risk of repetition, let me say once again that there can be no time for experiment, no opportunity to achieve security and the more abundant life, until the menace of the World of Hitler, the world of slavery and might is right, has forever been abolished and the World of Democracy, the world of freedom and the brotherhood of man has been firmly and permanently established.

The Great Fundamental

More fundamental and more vital than all these things, however, is a recovery, a revival, a new recognition of the Christian principles which are the firm foundation supporting our whole civilization and social order. For I fear, in the difficult and trying years through which we have passed and are passing, that we have been led by stress of circumstances, to neglect the old fashioned virtues. We have too often neglected the practice of Christian duty and doctrine.

But I believe there is now dawning a great religious and moral revival. I believe that the dangerous days which confront us and the perilous paths we must pursue, will force us, one and all, to return to the moral precepts and Christian observance which enabled our pioneer forebears to endure and to conquer. For it was with Bible and Prayer Book, axe, and rifle in hand, each used at the appropriate time, that they hewed out this great country from a pathless wilderness.

My own Christian philosophy, taught me at my mother's knee, I confess to having long neglected. But following the collapse of 1929, with its privations and misery, I awoke to the need of it and since that time have humbly sought to practise it. And in the seeking, in the effort to be of service to my fellow citizens, I have found much quiet contentment. That creed of my mother's is short and to the point and because, in the last decade, it has so greatly aided me, I pass it on and recommend it to all young men and women just on the threshold of life.

"You will get out of life only what you put into it. To whomsoever much is given of him much will be required. You cannot live without God in this world."

Now let us ask ourselves these questions. Are not we Americans getting out of our world of today just about what we have put into it? Much has been given this great nation, far more, indeed, than to any other, but of what was required of us how much have we given? By our policy of isolation have we not sought to live without God in this world? Has that selfish policy been in accordance with the precepts of the Christian gospel upon which our democratic institutions are founded?

We obey the Ten Commandments at home, can we afford to ignore their refutation abroad? Does any decent American countenance in his own community the practice of murder, arson, and robbery? Would any of us view with indifference an attack upon our neighbor's life or the pillage and burning of our neighbor's home, or the mutilation of our neighbor's family? Where then, do we find the closed frontier of the Christian gospel—across the street or across the sea?

Suppose men like Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie practised the doctrines urged upon us by the isolationists. They are both well to do and can gain no material benefit by public service. Suppose men of this fine type should say to their neighbors, as the isolationists have bid us say to our neighbors to the north and across the sea, "my home is my castle, I have received much but I will give nothing, go stew in the juice of the troubles you yourself have concocted and leave me in peace". Would not our national social order soon collapse into anarchy? And

is it not a fact that by practising just such a doctrine, we find that our international social order actually *has* collapsed into anarchy?

It would seem that the pagan philosophy of the Pharisee, the Levite, and the isolationist is today proving to be a boomerang. Certainly from a strictly *material* point of view, nobody can deny that the Christian role of the Good Samaritan would have proved less costly to us in the long run. But America, in 1937, turned a deaf and hostile ear to the plea of President Roosevelt that we join our fellow democracies and quarantine aggressors. Now it begins to look as if the aggressors may quarantine us.

Are we Americans beginning to be punished for our unchristian indifference to the woes and wounds of our neighbor to the north and to that valiant nation overseas, fighting alone with her back against her crumbling walls? I believe that we are and, as to the future, unless we quickly mend our ways I shudder to think of the vengeance a just God will visit upon this nation.

Today we need the church militant as never before. The clergy of America must arouse our people to their Christian duty. For surely the church believes that the destiny of America as the defender of our faith, as the world's leader in the cause of peace, justice and freedom, is a Christian ideal worth fighting and dying for. America's men of God must tell our people that the wave of the future is not be found in a return to the worship of Caesar but in observance of the gospel taught by Him who died that men might lift their eyes beyond Caesar and toward eternal freedom.

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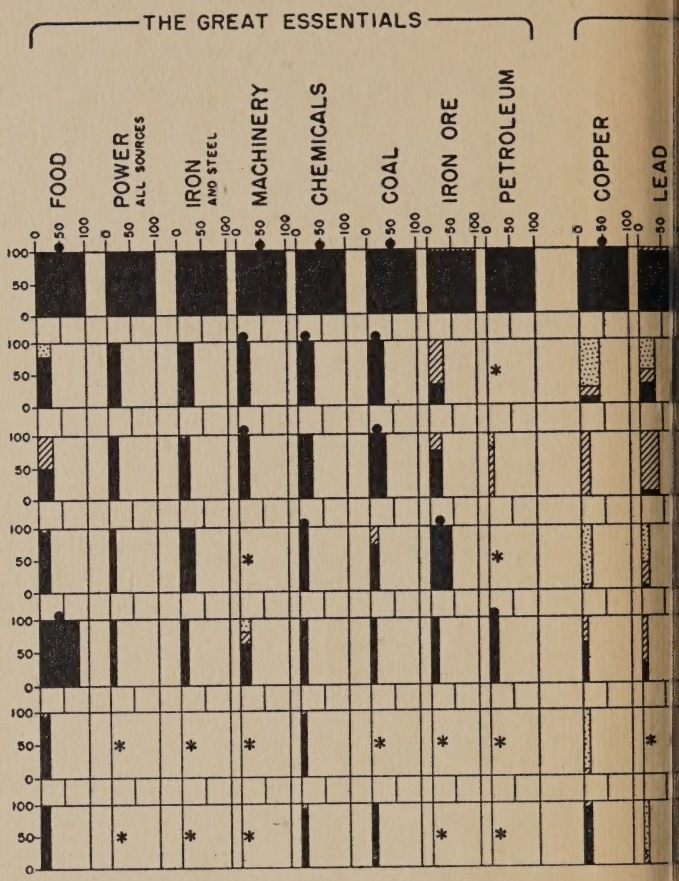

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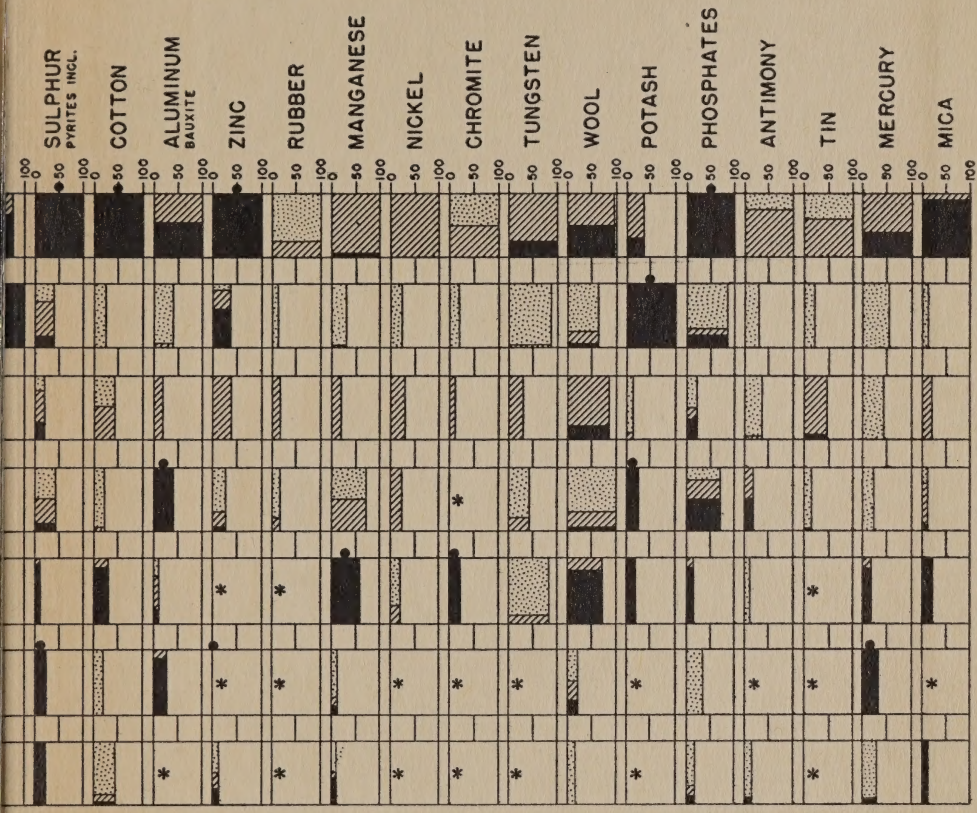

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